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Human Events — THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 52 December 29, 1960 Section I — News

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Attorney General: The naming of Brother Robert Kennedy by the President-elect to head the Department of Justice has stirred intense criticism in Washington—particularly among Democrats. It is known that one of Truman's Cabinet members, asked by John F. Kennedy for advice on the matter of naming Robert to the post, sternly counseled the next President not to name his brother to this job, for the following reasons:

(1) It will lay open the new Administration to the charge of nepotism—against which practice public opinion reacts strongly and will continue to react. (2) It is not seemly to have the fiery prosecutor of the Senate Rackets Committee, who literally excoriated Hoffa, head of the Department which will seek to dispense justice in upcoming cases involving Hoffa. (3) It will not please conservative Democrats in Congress—they will vote to confirm Brother Bob, but there may be some angry debates. (4) This might prove a lasting wound, affecting the whole Administration for the next four years.

What particularly concerns liberal and laborite Democrats is that Robert Kennedy has carried on what amounts to a vendetta against Teamster Boss James Hoffa for some years. As Attorney General, any steps—and many will be quite justified—he takes in litigation against Hoffa may now be interpreted as "persecution" of the Teamster leader; however guilty Hoffa may be, the American public tends to rally behind "the underdog."

Both liberals and conservatives agree that this would be no atmosphere for the proper conduct of justice. In view of the inevitability that the Hoffa case will loom prominently in coming months, the appointment of Brother Robert is deemed "bad business."

It is also bad business—the Capital observes—from the standpoint of filling posts with qualified men. Noteworthy is that the New York *Times*, which supported JFK for election, said of Robert's appointment that although he is a "promising young lawyer," he "certainly would not be named as Attorney General if he were not the President-elect's brother." That—it is remarked—is plain nepotism. It is recalled that one of the most revered of Democratic Presidents, Woodrow Wilson, made a big point of refusing to appoint his own brother to serve as a local postmaster.

Why did JFK do it? There is a current line of thinking that Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the two young men, is going to exert great power over the incoming Administration. Those who hold this view have seized upon the naming of Robert Kennedy as strong evidence that "Joe" is going to run the show. Most observers doubt that "Joe" will do so, but they admit that the father's pressure must have been persuasive with the President-elect on this matter. JFK is too politically sophisticated not to realize the hazards he runs in making the appointment. It must have been paternal pride which steam-rollered political considerations—so runs a common conclusion in the Capital.

Washington dismisses as ridiculous JFK's excuse —that Ike had Brother Milton, and John Foster Dulles got Allen Dulles appointed to head the Central Intelligence Agency. (1) Ike never appointed Milton Eisenhower to any Cabinet or other Federal job. (2) John Foster did not get Allen named head of the CIA—in fact, he is known to have been chilly to the appointment.

Treasury: The appointment of C. Douglas Dillon (presently Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs) as Kennedy's Secretary of the Treasury signifies a reinforcement for the continued policy of foreign economic aid. That is the way members of Congress who are familiar with Dillon's record look at it. It is expected that such anti-foreign aid Democrats as Senator Harry F. Byrd (Va.) and Representative Otto E. Passman (La.) will voice objections, as will many conservative Republicans. Dillon has consistently plumped for foreign giveaways.

How this Dillon attitude can be squared with stated determination of Kennedy to deal with the exodus of gold defies explanation. It is generally agreed that elimination of foreign aid offers the only substantial chance to stop the gold slippage.

Kennedy won a political advantage by the appointment: he got a Republican in the Cabinet. True,

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Dillon has never emphasized his affiliation with the GOP; quite the contrary, he did not campaign for Nixon. But, it is known that Vice President Nixon and old GOP pro Leonard Hall privately urged him not to accept the job. They are said to have told Dillon that, in view of a worsening monetary crisis, he and the party might prove to be the "fall guys." Ike's reportedly "shocked" at Dillon's acceptance.

It is rumored that the influence of father Joseph P. Kennedy on the family firm of Dillon, Read & Co. may have helped sway Douglas Dillon—who seems to have made an eleventh-hour decision to accept the offer of JFK.

The McNamara Story: The newly named Secretary of Defense commenced his entrance into the governmental scene with a whopping error: he said he is a registered Republican. The press generally swallowed the boner, and even the strong dissents from the State of Michigan did not produce a correction. There is no such thing in Michigan (where McNamara has spent the past eight years) as a registered Republican nor, for that matter, a registered Democrat. Registration is for voters only and not by party designation; there is an open primary in the Wolverine State.

Checking up in Detroit, HUMAN EVENTS found little belief that the outgoing Ford Motor Company president is a Republican. The Detroit *Free Press* said on December 13 that he supported John F. Kennedy in the campaign last fall. Further, McNamara is reported to have voted for Democratic senatorial candidate Philip A. Hart in 1958 and is "proud of it" (although Hart rates as a 100% follower of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action line). Some accounts of his career report that, when he was a professor at the Harvard Business School, he was one of a handful on the faculty who supported Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Was the man who now tackles one of the most costly and vital positions in government a good administrator and executive? In Detroit, automotive sources are reluctant to hail him as a genius in his field. He came to Ford with the "whiz kids" after the war, when the Ford administration was rated "so low, it could hardly have gone lower"—as one source put it. Good business for Ford followed in subsequent years, but "almost anyone could sell cars then." But the reason auto circles maintain a very cool reserve about McNamara's abilities is that he and the "whiz kids" regime spawned the greatest disaster in the history of the automotive industry. That was the designing, launching and attempted sale of the Edsel, the biggest flop in auto history.

McNamara's role in that may or may not have been important—but the boys in Detroit are keeping their fingers crossed about his future performance and express anxious hope that there won't be any Edsel in McNamara's missile programs.

Goldwater: As the opening of the 87th Congress approached last week, Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) stated that he will fight to retain Rule 22 (which says that two-thirds of Senators present and voting are required to move to end debate) as a means of protecting "minority rights in the Senate and majority wishes in the nation." Liberal Democratic Senators Clark of Pennsylvania and Douglas of Illinois will spearhead a motion to allow a simple majority to end debate.

"I want to emphasize," Goldwater said, "that in fighting to preserve the Rule, I shall be doing so not merely for the reason the minority rights in the Senate must remain protected but because, in the present situation, the Rule can be a most helpful device in protecting the 'Forgotten American' who constitutes a majority of the electorate."

Regarding what he termed the "majority wishes of the nation" in terms of the Presidential election, Goldwater explained: "Senator Kennedy's popular vote exceeded Vice President Nixon's by about 114,000 votes. But, it must be remembered that a total of 380,757 votes were cast [for various small conservative parties such as the States Rights, Constitution, etc.] . . . . Even if the 39,692 votes of the Socialist Workers party, the 48,031 votes of the Socialist Labor party, and the 1,485 of the Afro-American party are added to Senator Kennedy's total, the popular vote against Senator Kennedy would still be a margin of more than the 114,000 votes by which he won. In the light of this, I feel that I have both a moral obligation and a moral duty to resist the efforts of the Democratic Administration to impose their dangerous spendthrift programs on an electorate, the majority of which rejected them."

If we permit these programs to become law, the Senator added, they would bring such an enormous increase in Federal spending that inflation-producing deficit financing or an intolerable addition to the tax burden could be the only possible results.

"I do not intend to sit idly by," concluded Goldwater, "while these Democratic proposals to drain the pay envelopes, savings, insurance, pensions and social security funds of the 'Forgotten American' are enacted into law."

The Forgotten American: Just as Kennedy's union-dominated Administration begins to form, Washington is buzzing with talk of the "Save-a-Plant" scheme to put unemployed in depressed areas back to work by cutting swollen union wage scales in half. Reportedly Senator Paul Douglas' Depressed Areas Committee will not endorse the "Save-a-Plant" plan, presumably because of labor boss opposition to any reduction in scales. But other members of Congress are interested.

The "Save-a-Plant" scheme (described in a local liberal paper, the Washington *Post*) has arisen in the heart of the Wheeling, W. Va. area, where many have been out of work as a result of low steel production. A steel worker, Thomas E. Elliott, himself out of work since last spring, recently proposed his "Save-a-Plant" scheme, promising that he would guarantee an employer a force ready to work at $1.50 an hour, which is half the highest wage

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formerly paid at the Ackermann plant of Wheeling Steel Corp. This plant made gasoline tanks, but closed down because of steel industry conditions.

"We would rather work for $1.50 an hour for 52 weeks a year," says Elliott, "than for $3 an hour for 26 weeks a year. Even $60 a week looks mighty good to a lot of people around here."

Elliott has persuaded about 1,200 men to sign application blanks for work at $1.50 an hour, and he says these men would not insist upon a pension or incentive plan. Labor Bosses call it a "union busting" scheme; Elliott indicates that he would prefer an independent union to affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

Spurned by liberal Senators like Douglas and by union bosses, the "Save-a-Plant" plan might well—in the opinion of labor experts on Capitol Hill—appeal to many in depressed areas (similar to that in Wheeling) in Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois and other localities. These unemployed, put out of work as a result of the operation of high-wage, monopoly unionism, are veritable "forgotten Americans"—since neither the Republican nor Democratic party has moved to relieve their distress by appropriate free enterprise legislation.

Not Merely Gossip: Party politics is the note today. At his first meeting with staff members of the African Affairs division of the State Department, whom he will direct, newly appointed AA Chief "Soapy" Williams reportedly asked them what their party affiliations were. Most said they were Democrats, a few admitted they were Republicans, but eight threw a note of discord and resentment into the staff meeting by refusing to answer the question —protesting it was not a proper one. This infuriated Williams, who ended the meeting by showing exaggerated favor for a clerk and a stenographer who said they were Democrats from "Soapy's" State of Michigan. "You're the only ones here I can trust," he is reported to have said.

• *It is predicted that the Republican National Committee, at its meeting in Washington on January 5 and 6, will lay special emphasis on "how the election was stolen." There may be new information, in detail, released on fraudulent polling practices discovered in many places, particularly in Cook County, Illinois, and in Texas. An exhibit, "A Chamber of Horrors," may be a feature.*

• The appointment of "lame duck" Governor Orville Freeman (Minnesota) to the top Agriculture post is taken as further evidence of the left-wing nature of Kennedy's Cabinet. Freeman is vowed to Kennedy's farm plan which even Henry Wallace, the great rural giveaway expert of the Roosevelt regime, regarded as wildly radical. Freeman is close to the far-left-wing Farmers Union.

• *January 1 will not only usher in a new decade —it will also be the birthday anniversary of two great Americans. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, will be 66, while Senator Barry Goldwater will be 52.*

• In an article titled "Sports on the New Frontier" in last week's *Sports Illustrated* magazine, President-elect Kennedy stated that "the physical fitness of our youth should be made the direct responsibility of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare." It is recalled that state-controlled sports were a hallmark of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and that today in all Iron Curtain countries sports activities are state directed.

• John Kennedy told a nationwide TV audience shortly before the election (on the Jack Paar show) that he would positively not appoint his brother to an Administration post. Might look bad, he said.

• *Senator Wayne Morse will become new chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor, succeeding John Kennedy.*

• New York State COPE Chairman Louis Hollander is now mapping a plan for all-year-around union political activity.

Rocky: With his eye on the 1964 GOP Presidential nomination, Nelson Rockefeller is wasting no time in attempting to ensure himself a big plurality in his 1962 re-election race for the New York Governorship.

Signs abound in the Empire State that Nelson is attempting to cultivate the Liberal party, a collection of trade union and other leftist leftovers from the American Labor party and the 1948 Wallace Progressive movement. This party operates only in New York, but commands about 400,000 votes in a statewide election. The figure looms larger when it is realized that Republican-Democratic registration is fairly evenly divided.

Last week Rocky made what the New York *Times* called a "highly significant" move in the direction of the Liberal party by reappointing a party member to the state Tax Commission. The liberals, realizing that they are being courted by the Governor, are far from cool. Recently the New York *World Telegram and Sun* reported: "Liberal party brass hats are dropping broad hints that their usually 'steady' courtship with Democratic statewide candidates could be broken by one ardent swain, Governor Nelson Rockefeller. This strategy of holding out the possibility of a Liberal party endorsement of the Governor's 1962 re-election bid —which he must win big to stay in the running for the 1964 Presidential nomination—puts the third party in the ideal position of being courted by both Democrats and Republicans."

Chances now appear excellent that Nelson will woo and win Liberal party support. He can probably again expect the endorsement of the ultra-leftist New York *Post* (which he publicly lauded at a Chicago party during this year's GOP convention). But, it is noted, neither the Liberal party

CHARLES M. TEAGUE, Republican Congressman from California: "I read HUMAN EVENTS regularly. It presents the conservative point of view (with which I agree in the great majority of instances) admirably."

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nor the New York *Post* causes a ripple outside of the Empire State, and wouldn't support a Republican for President even if his name were Nelson Rockefeller.

With the Democratic party torn by feuds, it is conceivable that if Rocky gets the Liberal party's endorsement he might run up an impressive victory in 1962. Increasingly, however, it appears that the conditions under which this could happen have little in common with those of a Presidential election spread across the 50 states.

Case & Company: The liberal or modern Republican element in the Senate, personified by New Jersey's Clifford Case, persists in telling the press and the country that the GOP's only hope of salvation rests in accepting its leadership. The Case clique consists mainly of Senators Kenneth Keating and Jacob Javits of New York, George Aiken of Vermont, John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky and Thomas Kuchel of California.

A solid indication of the type of Republicanism this group espouses came this month with a press conference Javits held in Washington. He stated that liberal Republicans, freed from the necessity of supporting a GOP President, may help Kennedy redeem part of the ultra-liberal promises in the Democratic platform, when Congress convenes. Javits practically told reporters he will function as a Democrat-in-effect to emphasize the "positive side" of legislation.

Case made his ideas known at a recent Washington press club luncheon. The newsman introducing Case noted that there were two Republicans named Case in the Senate (the other is Francis Case of South Dakota), but that Clifford "is the Democrat, or at least almost a Democrat."

Case told the press club that "naturally we [the liberals] shall seek to make ours the prevailing position within the party and to persuade the people of the United States that this in fact is so."

Outlining his philosophy, Case said that the GOP should not "raise the laissez-faire banner of Hayek and Von Mises" (classic, anti-cheap money economists) or "proclaim our allegiance to the Constitution according to its most literal exponents."

Has the thinking of Case's clique captured the imagination of the country, and is its philosophy the key to GOP success? Liberal Washington pundits answer in the affirmative, but the other observers look past Case's self-proclaimed mandate to some largely overlooked facts.

There are 21 new GOP Congressmen coming to Capitol Hill, mostly young and attractive personalities with ability to match anything the "New Frontier" has to offer. Almost to a man this new blood types itself as of the Goldwater variety. There is not one self-proclaimed Case man in the lot. Most of them won in tougher contests than Case has ever seen by embracing Republican principles down-the-line.

Case's re-election is played up as the biggest GOP victory of the year. It is not. Case got 56.4 per cent of the vote against a token candidate and virtually no labor opposition. Senators Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Carl Curtis of Nebraska, both referred to in much of the press as "ultra conservative," defeated well-financed and vigorous opponents with 60.3 per cent and 58.5 per cent, respectively.

Red March on Washington: Congressman James Roosevelt (D.-Cal.) will begin his annual offensive against the House Committee on Un-American Activities when Congress convenes next week; but this year Jimmy will have quite a sideshow to back his efforts.

A collection of pinks, leftist students and First and Fifth Amendment pleaders has been recruited into scores of recently formed committees calling for the HCUA's abolition. The National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee has been formed to coordinate the campaign and a march on Washington January 2 and 3 in support of the speech Jimmy Roosevelt will make against the HCUA. The Communist *Worker* says that "busloads" of demonstrators will be on hand. One HCUA source said that, from the information he has received, the leftists will lobby against the committee in much the same way as Jimmy Hoffa's boys lobbied against the Landrum-Griffin bill—by having swarms of lobbyists reach every Congressman with their appeal. Various branches of what HCUA Chairman Francis Walter calls "operation abolition" have been urging their followers to "write Representative James Roosevelt telling him you are in accord" with his efforts to kill the committee.

Rostow: The London *Daily Mail* reported last week that Harvard's left-thinking Professor Walt W. Rostow went on a "secret" mission to Moscow for President-elect Kennedy. Rostow admitted attending an East-West science meeting in the Red Capital, but he denied that Kennedy sent him.

In any event, Rostow is being increasingly linked with Kennedy in the role of top foreign policy adviser. With Kennedy expected to formulate foreign policy with a minimum of State Department aid, Rostow will receive increasing scrutiny. Many are predicting that Rostow will be to Kennedy what close adviser Harry Hopkins was to FDR. Roosevelt relied little on his State Department when it came to major decisions, while Hopkins always had "the Chief's" ear on such matters.

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Politics in Florida

Claude Pepper Again? Three More GOP Congressmen?

By J. L. AND D. D. WICK

SPECIAL FROM MIAMI: Any discussion of Florida politics must begin with its perennial candidate and most controversial figure, Claude ("Red") Pepper, who expects to win re-election to Congress in 1962 from the new Dade County (Miami) congressional district. Pepper's immediate goal is to win a seat in the House of Representatives in 1962, then give consideration in 1964 to another attempt to defeat Senator Holland, against whom he failed in 1958.

Pepper, now 60, was elected to the Florida legislature when he was 28, and he has been running for public office ever since. He tried unsuccessfully for the US Senate when he was 34, but made it when he was 38 (in 1938). Immediately he attached himself to FDR, becoming the President's faithful poodle dog. Whenever FDR wanted to toss out a trial balloon, Pepper was the eager beaver who did it. "Red's" second love was Joseph Stalin. During the war Pepper became a familiar figure in Madison Square Garden at Communist-sponsored monster "Rallies to Help the Soviet Union."

In 1950, however, Pepper's past caught up with him; he lost to 37-year-old George Smathers for whom the ex-Senator still feels an all-consuming hate. The cat-like Pepper is watching the chameleon-like Smathers, hoping for a blunder that might provide the opportunity for a comeback. Smathers talked like a conservative in order to beat Pepper in 1950, but his voting record reflects only 38 per cent conservatism, according to the ACA-Index (compiled by the Americans for Constitutional Action).

As an ardent Kennedyite, Smathers may be expected to cast a near-100 per cent vote for Kennedy-sponsored measures. Pepper would prefer to beat Smathers when the latter comes up in 1962, but with two defeats behind him (1950 and 1958), "Red" is more likely to run in the new congressional district to be created in southern Florida.

The present Dade (Miami) and Monroe (Key West) Counties congressional district is represented by Dante Fascell—the most liberally-voting Congressman from Florida. In 1962 Dade-Monroe will be entitled to two congressional districts.

Pepper would like to have one of the two Dade-Monroe districts made-to-order for him. Such a district would include Miami Beach and would take in nearby Negro and Latin residential areas. If the district could be made up of the 500,000 voters that Pepper particularly wants, he could expect to win it year after year by an 85-15 ratio against any opponent. *

But the national Democratic leadership is not so willing to give Pepper a district so safe that it would dilute the liberal vote in the other to-be-created Dade district. If too much of the liberal vote should be allocated to one district, the other would be so weakened that the GOP could carry it, especially with the continuing inflow of Northern retirees.

The GOP might do so even against the 43-year-old incumbent, Dante Fascell, who has represented Dade-Monroe since 1954. Fascell's ACA-Index rating is only 25, the lowest in the state; that would make him vulnerable to an attractive Republican opponent.

Therefore, Pepper may have to content himself with a "usually liberal" district in which Miami Beach would be the nucleus. At the same time, liberally-strong precincts would be allocated to Fascell so each could win, but neither with a top-heavy majority.

The best laid plans, however, can be upset. The most powerful voice in southern Florida is that of Allan Courtney, of the Tod Storz radio station, WQAM. Courtney has a three-hour interview program six nights a week from 10 p.m. to 1 a.m. Unlike most such programs, Courtney interrogates conservatives as well as liberals. Merely giving conservatives an even break is enough to build up conservative strength. The program has a fantastically high listenership.

NOW TO DISCUSS other Florida districts. Republicans now have only one Congressman, the conservative 38-year-old William C. Cramer, representing St. Petersburg, Tampa and nearby counties. Reapportionment will add four new Congressmen to Florida's present eight. One of the new Congressmen may come from the redistricting of Cramer's district. Except for Tampa, the district is conservative, and with a little additional territory it would be entitled to two Congressmen.

Broward County (Ft. Lauderdale) and Palm Beach County now constitute the major portion of one district. That area could become two districts, each with GOP possibilities.

The odds would favor the new Representatives being Republican. The 39-year-old Paul Rogers, Democrat, has represented the Broward-Palm Beach district since he won a special election on January 11, 1955. His ACA-Index rating is only 48 per cent conservative, too middle-of-the-road for that conservative district, but his youth and energy make Republican chances less than would seem the case from his voting record.

The Sarasota district is represented by James Haley, 61, one-time President of Ringling Brothers. His ACA-Index rating is 77 per cent, the most

* Miami newsmen think the Latin bloc may be as anti-Pepper hereafter as it once was pro-Pepper. The influx of 35,000 bitterly anti-Castro Cuban refugees may have loosened the liberal hold on the Latin vote.

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conservative of Florida Democrats (Republican Cramer's rating is 89 per cent).

Republicans do not expect to beat Haley, but a new seat carved out of central Florida might give them a seat.

REPUBLICANS are already starting their organizational activity to win congressional and local offices. They know that 1962 is the year in which they must establish themselves. Cruel past experience tells them that the local tickets in all Southern states will be expendable in 1964—as they have been in all past Presidential elections.

Though Florida went Republican for the Presidency in 1952, 1956 and 1960, the national ticket each time demanded the sacrifice of the state and local GOP tickets. The year of the supreme irony was 1952 when the Taft slate of delegates was rejected by the Republican national convention and replaced by the Eisenhower slate. The argument of the Eisenhower forces, led by Dewey, Lodge and Brownell, was that the Old Guard GOP state organization supporting Taft for the Presidential nomination wanted only Federal patronage and cared nothing about winning local battles. Therefore, the Ike slate had to be seated for the good of the party. The Ike slate was seated.

The convention was hardly over, however, when the agents of the national ticket came down to Florida and demanded that all campaign efforts be concentrated on the national ticket. Local and congressional tickets were not to be mentioned in the same breath with the national ticket for fear of alienating voters supporting local Democratic candidates.

"Nothing counts in this election except to get votes for Ike," was the warning. The same course was pursued in 1956. In 1960, the Republican Presidential nominee, for the first time in history, campaigned in Florida, but Republican nominees for Governor, Congress and local offices were forbidden to come near Nixon while he was on television or being interviewed. As usual, nothing counted in the election except to get votes for the Presidential ticket.

Nevertheless, the GOP nominee for Governor, who was, in effect, ordered to keep his candidacy a secret, got one-third of the state-wide gubernatorial vote.

Recognizing that the same suppression of the local, congressional and state tickets may be demanded in 1964 by the Presidential ticket—unless the Florida party has shown grass roots power—rank-and-file Republicans are determined that the party shall make its gains in 1962 when there will be no such conflict of interest.

When political discussions turn to the national Democratic campaign to seduce retired voters, Florida politicos reply by pointing to the overwhelming Republican vote in St. Petersburg. A large percentage of the St. Petersburg population consists of Senior Citizens living on small pensions.

Many surveys show that oldsters regard protection against inflation to be their No. 1 plea. They are bitterly opposed to programs which vitiate the savings of a lifetime and then promise recompense with government handouts.

FLORIDA REPUBLICANS, looking to the future, see the example of Arizona as their shining light.

A decade ago, Arizona was regarded as "an overwhelmingly Democratic" state. The legislature is still overwhelmingly Democratic. The registration is still decisively Democratic, yet many shrewd political observers claim that within the Sixties, the state may oust Vermont from her present rank as "the most dependably Republican state in the Union."

The reasons cited for the predicted change in Arizona are these:

1. Retirees tend strongly to be Republican.

2. The incoming younger population are the vigorous, self-reliant, ambitious types who also tend to be Republican.

3. These factors alone, however, would not have produced the change if it were not for the attractive leadership provided by Senator Goldwater, Governor Fannin and Congressman Rhodes. The belief now is that when the 83-year-old Senator Hayden, Democrat, retires, he will be replaced by a Republican. Democratic Congressman Udall is resigning to become Secretary of the Interior. Republican Mac C. Matheson, who lost to him, may win the seat at the coming special election. The GOP is favored to win in the one new congressional district to which Arizona is entitled, beginning in 1962.

If Arizona can switch from "almost certainly Democratic" to at least prospectively "the most Republican state in the Union," Florida Republicans ask why can't their state swing into at least a "normally Republican" expectation after the foundations have been laid in the congressional elections of 1962?

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Human Events LABOR LETTER

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Can a Firm Quit Business?

Labor and the NLRB Say No!

By EDWIN MCDOWELL
Editorial Writer for the Arizona Republic

NOT CONTENT merely with dictating workers' salaries, vacations, pensions, seniority, and working conditions, certain labor unions are now doing all in their power to prohibit companies from going out of business. What's more, thanks to an almost unbelievable recent ruling by the National Labor Relations Board, they are achieving success far beyond their wildest expectations. It is virtually inconceivable that an employer, faced with bankruptcy, should be forced to remain in business—or, barring that, to pay laid off employees indefinitely—just to satisfy union demands (demands, it should be noted, that often are responsible for the bankruptcy), yet that is precisely what happened recently in the case of one New Jersey company, the Bonnie Lass Knitting Mills, Inc.

Until June, 1958, Bonnie Lass was just another in a long line of companies engaged in manufacturing sweaters. At that time, however, the AFL-CIO's International Ladies Garment Workers Union sought to unionize the company's approximately 100 employees, and the following month, 50 Bonnie Lass workers went out on strike. Shortly thereafter the company sold its equipment and machinery, and on December 15th it quit its manufacturing operation. Then the employers decided to go into the altogether new business of jobbing, an operation which entails buying and marketing the products of a number of mills, which required only three full-time employees. But the employers had made a fatal mistake—they had not reckoned with the power of the union nor with the myopia of the NLRB.

In a ruling handed down on April 4, 1960, the Board imposed an unprecedented punishment which far exceeded any penalties ever before imposed—a punishment which, if it is upheld, could severely cripple the already overregulated American economy. Specifically, the Board held that the shutdown was illegal—since, it said, it was obviously done to avoid dealing with the union—and therefore the company had to reimburse the employees "by paying to each of them a sum of money equal to the amount he or she would normally have earned as wages from December 15, 1958, *until such time as each secures or did secure substantially equivalent employment with other employers.*"

What this means, for those who find it difficult to decipher the Board's verbal hodgepodge, is that Bonnie Lass would be liable to pay its former employees' wages for the rest of their lives if they are unable to obtain new employment! Furthermore, as company counsel Leonard S. Kimmell pointed out to the Board in his motion for reconsideration, the order in effect makes Bonnie Lass an insurer of the future employment of all its ex-employees. "Thus," said Mr. Kimmell, "if an employee . . . earned $70 per week while employed by [Bonnie Lass], and thereafter accepts employment at $60 per week with another employer, such employee would presumably be entitled . . . to $10 per week back pay from [the company] for an indefinite period. Similarly, if an employee is . . . laid off after securing employment with another employer, such employee would apparently . . . be entitled to back pay from [Bonnie Lass] for such period, no matter how long its duration or how often its occurrence.

"Furthermore, it is conceivable that some employees, because of their ages, particular experience, sex, or other factors, may not be able to secure employment with other employers. The Board's back pay order would appear to indicate that such employees will receive a 'pension' . . . of their normal wages for an indefinite period—perhaps even for the term of their natural lives."

Small wonder, therefore, that both the company and its counsel feel they are the target of an oppressive, punitive measure, far worse than a fixed fine or penalty. In previous similar cases (one of which will be discussed below), the Board limited its authority to ordering the employers to place the discharged men on a preferential hiring list and reinstate them if and when the company again resumed operations.

Of the two alternatives that would end the company's liability (i. e. either cease its jobbing operations and quit business altogether, or else

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resume its manufacturing operation and rehire all employees), only the former falls within the bounds of reason. For in order to comply with the second alternative, Bonnie Lass would have to purchase machinery and equipment, stock a supply of yarn and other raw materials, and rent a building or factory.

Not all the NLRB members voted to condemn Bonnie Lass to life everlasting. One member, Ray Rogers, disagreed vehemently with the majority decision, writing: "I do not agree with my colleagues that [Bonnie Lass] violated the [Taft-Hartley] Act when it ceased its operations as a manufacturer. As I stated in my dissenting opinion in Barbers Iron Foundry, 126 NLRB No. 5, there is nothing in the Act which limits an employer's right to go out of business at any time and for any reason he chooses. The respondent here disposed of its machinery and equipment and permanently withdrew from the industrial scene as a manufacturer. This [it] had an absolute right to do. The fact that [it] decided to engage in a different business venture . . . in no way qualified that right. As I would not find that [the company] violated the Act in ending its manufacturing operations, it follows that I would not issue a remedial order in this regard."

THE BARBERS IRON FOUNDRY case, mentioned by Mr. Rogers, offers an interesting comparison, for that company also discriminatorily ceased manufacturing operations. And although the NLRB's General Counsel urged the Board that, among other things, the employer pay back wages until substantially equivalent employment was obtained, the Board—in contrast to its decision in the Bonnie Lass case—specifically rejected this contention and awarded back pay only to the time when the plant closed. This would be in harmony with an earlier decision of the Board (in the New Madrid Manufacturing Company case), which was later upheld by the US Court of Appeals. In handing down its decision, the Court further stated: "But none of this can be taken to mean that an employer does not have the absolute right, at all times, to permanently close and go out of business . . . for whatever reason he may choose, whether union animosity or anything else . . . . No more, in our opinion, can the [Taft-Hartley] Act be said to contain any basis to assess remedial back-pay . . . beyond the date of his permanent closing."

It is understandable and to be expected that the unions will exploit their newly won gain, regardless of whom they must enlist in the process. Evidence of this was confirmed this past March when Westinghouse announced the closing of its Nuttall gear plant oustide Pittsburgh, after 60 years of operation—a decision prompted by a declining sales volume which made a separate plant unprofitable, and which forced the consolidation of the Nuttall operation with a division at Buffalo, New York. In a letter to all members of Congress, the president of the United Electrical Workers Union asked that legislative body to consider laws holding companies responsible for actions which, while they might produce profits, may "pass an economic death sentence upon a community and its citizens." "In the view of this union," the letter said, "the exercise of such economic power without clearly defined legal responsibility is intolerable and urgently requires serious attention . . . ."

(Westinghouse, it might be added, set up a special benefits program for Nuttall's 400 employees. In addition to providing separation allowances up to 20 weeks of pay and continuation of personal insurance coverage until other employment was found, or for six months, the company also undertook an employment service in an attempt to place its workers elsewhere in the Pittsburgh area.)

It would be easy to dismiss the NLRB's decision in the Bonnie Lass case as merely an isolated miscarriage of justice, but the power and arrogance of organized labor—aided at every turn by outlandish and whimsical decisions—precludes such a theory. Oddly enough, though, it might very well be that if the decision is not reversed, the union will regret it as much as will employers. For if the Board can prevent an employer from quitting business, it is only a matter of time until it can—and will—prevent a worker from quitting his job, or from going out on strike.

Rather than a miscarriage of justice, however, the Bonnie Lass decision is a syndrome of an evil which for three decades has been gnawing at the foundations of our democratic process—the syndrome of unbridled labor union monopoly. So long as this monopoly exists, allowing labor union leaders to flout the law with impunity, we can expect to see a succession of similar decisions. For it is generally understood that—as Mr. Dooley said about the Supreme Court—the NLRB follows election returns, and we have yet to elect to high national office a candidate pledged to rid us of the albatross draped around our necks by the architects of the New Deal.

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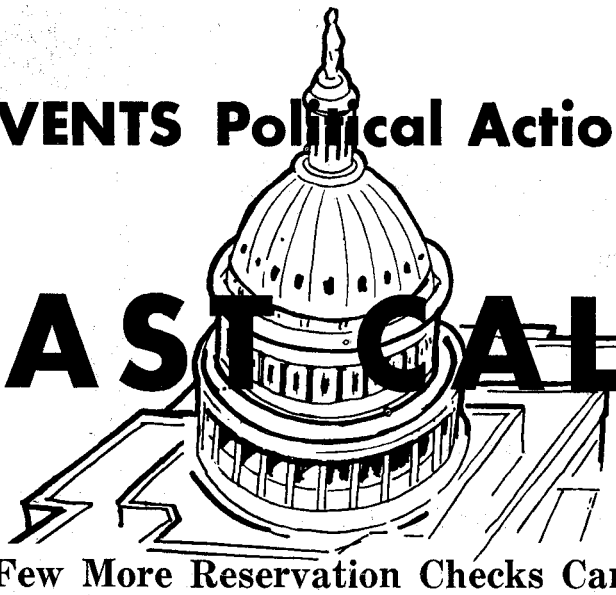

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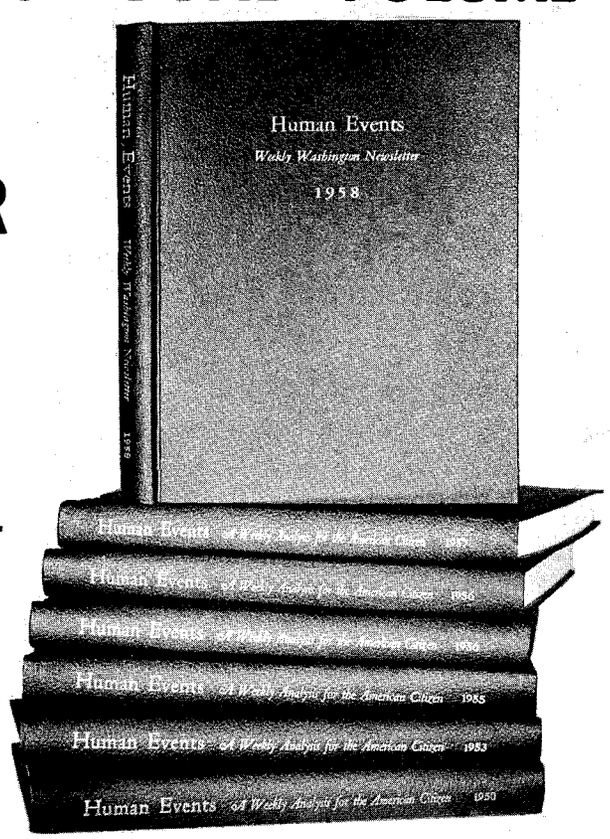

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What You Can Do

Human Events

A REGULAR FEATURE IN YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT . .

Vol. XVII, No. 52 — Section IV

December 29, 1960

Amending Residence Voting Laws Will Increase the Conservative Vote

THE LANDSLIDE MAJORITIES that Nixon got from the absentee ballots have been a revelation to the American people.

The precise percentages can only be guessed at since most states do not report a separate count on absentee ballots, but there is reason to believe that the over-all Nixon absentee ballot percentage was at least 60 per cent and may have run as high as 67 per cent. Contrast this with just under 50 per cent with which he was credited in the final total vote count.

The absentee ballot Republican landslide is one more evidence of the contrast between the Kennedy voter support and the Nixon voter support.

Kennedy carried the dozen Big Cities by 65-35 majorities.

The Big Cities contain within them the blocs that vote 95 to 5 as the Bosses dictate. As an additional factor, the Big Cities, plus the Mexican-populated areas of Texas, are also the fraud-ridden areas where the Bosses produce the margin estimated to be needed to guarantee victory. If the whole truth were known, Kennedy will become President as the result of a Stolen Election.

Excluding the Big Cities and the Southern areas where Robert Kennedy's ultimatums to Democratic Congressmen, Governors, and courthouse-city hall officials produced the majorities, Nixon won the independent-minded votes by a large margin.

But that is not all. The true Nixon majority might have been increased by two or three million but for the disfranchisement of one group of Americans—a high proportion of whom are the active individualistic, self-reliant type that built this nation.

This is the mobile population (perhaps 2-to-1 conservatively inclined) of about eight million who were not allowed to vote last November 8 because of obsolete residence requirements and defects in the absentee voting laws.

These are the persons who moved on a date too close to election to be eligible to vote. An example: In Mississippi a person loses his vote if he has moved, even if only from one Mississippi precinct to another, within the previous *year*.

Other states are not far behind in the disqualification of mobile voters.

The mobile portion of the US population includes its most valuable citizens. In these days of nation-wide corporations, junior executives, technical and professional men, and the most highly skilled plant workers are those most likely to move. A second group consists of ambitious young couples seeking opportunities in the growing industrial areas. A third group represents the older citizens who have saved enough to move to a warmer climate. Despite the bribes offered by the Democrats, polls of Senior Citizens showed a 68-32 proportion for Nixon over Kennedy. For one thing, older citizens fear inflation. For another, they see through the Big Promises of the Demagogs.

So the disfranchisement of our mobile population discriminates against the party which seeks to encourage ambition and self-responsibility while it favors the party that would enthrone the voting groups willing to sell their votes for government handouts.

Raymond Moley in *Newsweek* has started the drive to persuade state legislatures to modify residence requirements. Among the reforms being recommended:

Reduce state residence requirements for voting for President and Vice President, and perhaps for members of Congress, to 60 days or less and to six months for other elections.

Allow absentee voting by mail for voters temporarily away from their county on Election Day. Extend absentee voting to sick and hospitalized voters. Allow voters away from their states for long periods to register by mail, with precautions against fraud and heavy penalities for violations.

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Remove election law requirements from state constitutions because of the difficulty of amending them.

Use a shorter and simplified ballot with propositions and amendments stated in understandable language.

Allow two days for voting.

If you are interested in making it less difficult for qualified citizens to register and vote, the time to act is now. All but seven of the 50 state legislatures will meet next month. The Hawaii and North Carolina legislatures will convene in February, Florida's in April and those of Alabama and Louisiana in May. The Mississippi and Virginia legislatures are not scheduled to meet until January, 1962.

Write to the state senators and representatives in your section of the state, asking them to legislate the program described above. Encourage your friends to do likewise. Write the letters to the editor columns of your local newspapers and start a nonpartisan campaign for revision of the election laws. Get your service organizations interested.

MOST STATES require one year's residence for voting, but Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina require two years. The following states permit voting after six months: Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Oregon. A voter who has resided in Wisconsin for less than one year may vote for President and Vice President if he was a qualified voter in another state just prior to his arrival in Wisconsin.

Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina require one year's residence in the county, but other states provide for lesser periods. Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia require six months; New York and Utah four months; Delaware, Tennessee and Vermont, three months; California, Colorado, Illinois, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota and Washington 90 days; Iowa, Missouri, New Jersey, West Virginia and Wyoming 60 days; Nebraska and Ohio 40 days; and Arizona, Idaho, Kansas, Montana and Nevada 30 days. Connecticut provides for six months residence in the town and Indiana for 60 days in the township. The remaining 11 states have no provisions for county residence.

Mississippi requires a year's residence in the precinct, while Maryland and New Hampshire require six months and South Carolina four months. Alabama, Hawaii and Vermont require three months. Louisiana requires three months in the precinct except for municipal elections, when the period is four months.

Other states having precinct residence requirements of more than a month are: Pennsylvania, two months; Kentucky, Missouri and Utah 60 days; California 54 days; and Ohio 40 days. Massachusetts and Rhode Island require six months in the municipality, while Maine requires three months.

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Sen. Clifford Case Says GOP Must Help Kennedy

Clifford Case, New Jersey's liberal Republican Senator, told the National Press Club (12/17) that Republican liberal Senators must join with Kennedy Democrats to "get the job done" in such fields as federal aid to education, medical care to the aged, depressed areas legislation, public housing, urban renewal, immigration. He hopes that his proposed coalition will attract 10 or 11 Republican Senators away from the Goldwater-Bridges-Dirksen bloc which wants to cooperate with Byrd-Thurmond Southerners to stop Kennedy's ambition "to pick up where FDR left off."

Apparently, Case is seeking to become the Republican party's new Wayne Morse. Senator Morse called himself a Republican from 1946 until 1954, though he voted consistently with the Democrats and continuously denounced his fellow-Republicans as "reactionaries."

WRITE YOUR TWO SENATORS. Urge them to oppose the Case attempt to make the Republican party a carbon copy of the New Frontier Democratic party.

DAILY THOUGHT

Believe in your own powers. Dare to act on that belief. Action will set power in motion. —Elmer G. Leterman.

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HUMAN EVENTS
COMMENTARY

"We're a young group and we're going to take over America."

—ROBERT KENNEDY

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Vol. XVII, No. 52 — Section VI

December 29, 1960

'World Opinion' Sets U.S. Foreign Policy

By US Senator Barry Goldwater

Reviewing the world events of the past 15 years, we find ample evidence of the truth that the affairs of nations are not determined by good will tours, alms giving, gestures of self-denial, rehabilitation projects and discussion programs. The affairs of nations are determined—for good or for evil—by power.

The Soviet Union would not have gotten where it is today through the attractiveness of its doctrines and practices. It has set its sights on distinct concrete targets—on geographical areas or power centers which it means to infiltrate and eventually conquer—and it has turned the full weight of its national power, plus the power of the international apparatus it controls, to these particular target areas.

The United States has never viewed the world struggle in quite this way, that is, as a military campaign where one isolates his objective, marshals his forces and moves on to victory.

Rather, we have proceeded on the tacit assumption that virtue has its own reward and that our only real problem is to make sure that the world perceives our virtue.

Moreover, we entered this supposed contest for world approval with a kind of guilt complex. Perhaps as our accusers say, the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima had something to do with it. But I suspect the cause lies deep in America's past—in our traditional attitude toward power politics.

In order to prove that we were unlike our predecessors in power—selfish, ambitious, warlike—we began to lean over backwards and to gear our policies to the opinions of others.

There are notable exceptions of course as when, for example, we have submitted to the imperatives of self-defense—in Greece, in Korea, in the Formosa Straits, in Berlin—but in theme and thrust and motive, American foreign policy has been primarily an exercise in popularity seeking.

There are three fairly plain reasons why deference to world opinion is so harmful to American interests.

First, it is self-defeating in the sense that the very admiration and respect we covet is denied to us the moment we go out and beg for it. The would-be beneficiaries of our concessions and self-denials soon construe them as weaknesses and want more.

Second, and I speak now in terms of propaganda impact, a long history of trying to prove our good faith when it had never really been open to question, has the paradoxical effect of raising doubts about our good faith.

WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO CONVINCE NOAH?

By not taking the superiority of our motives and our cause for granted, we forbid others to take them for granted and we find ourselves forced to make a new plea before the bar of "world opinion" every time Pravda opens its mouth.

In electing to gear our policies to world opinion, we have chosen the standard that is most vulnerable to manipulation by our enemies. What is world opinion? Who participates in the poll, how do you measure?

When we talk about world opinion, we are not talking about a consensus of two billion human beings, most of whose opinions we know literally nothing about, we are talking about that tiny segment of the world's population that can make itself heard—the writers, the speakers, the organizers for this or that cause, the impatient Utopian, the opportunist political figure—and these voices who claim to express world opinion are historically prime targets for communist infiltration.

By concentrating on these areas, the communist influence is now far out of proportion to communism's real strength in the world. The readings on the applause meters in popularity contests are frequently rigged—only the inexperienced and naive would seriously attempt to shape American foreign policy to satisfy such an index. How do you stand, sir?

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Former Aid Official Hits Giveaways

Reprint of a letter to the Washington Evening Star

The eye-opening "Yanki No" telecast seen over Channel 7 was no shock to me. We can rest assured that the words "Yanki No" and "Yankee, go home!" which I have seen and heard throughout the world during my 20 years of service abroad, mean exactly what they say.

We are not welcome outside our borders—anywhere—not even as tourists. I found that out the hard way. I was one of those "Ugly Americans" who, for years, really believed that Uncle Sam's vast give-away effort would eventually pay off.

I don't believe that any more.

We have bled Fort Knox white in trying to cure the ills of the so-called underdeveloped areas. Now, look where we are! We, of all people, are asking the Germans and the French, of all people, to give us a transfusion.

Every time I am accosted by an unshaven, overdeveloped bum asking me for money "to buy a cup of coffee," I refuse because I feel that he is laughing at me. Before he even sticks his hand out, he has taken me for a sucker, which inference I resent.

The same with most of these unshaven, underdeveloped countries. But they stick out not just one hand but both: one to the West, and one to the East! And if, to give them work, we built factories, mills or mines in their country, they confiscated them and laughed out loud at us over the world's loudest public address system—the United Nations Organization.

All of these global beggars who want our Yankee gold but no Yankees keep calling us capitalists. Well, let us act the part for a while. If they want our money, let them work for it.

It is so much easier to beg and borrow than to tax. I have lived in some 15 countries in the past 15 years and found that not a blessed one of them taxes half as much as we do to keep the country going. They don't have the courage to do so. Yet, our Government does it for them—out of our pockets.

During the past four years, I myself handed out hundreds of thousands of hard-earned United States dollars (our gold reserves) promoting overseas projects which I had hoped would eventually become self-supporting. Well, once I stopped pouring in the cash they became self-liquidating overnight. I had also hoped to make friends for our country. How silly of me!

Here are my apologies to the generous Americans who supported my great, do-good, welfare program. I spent their money foolishly, but I promise never to do it again.

"Yankee," I said to myself, "take this good advice and go home!"

Well, here I am, at home, in the ranks of the unemployed, but better that than continuing to drain our gold reserve. Maybe now I can help reverse the trend by working under this self-supporting capitalist system which advocates "trade, not aid."

Ronald E. Loubert.
Ex-US Government official,
Ex-Project Manager,
International welfare
organization

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How the South Views Integrated Fraternities

By John Temple Graves

"All men are brothers—but not identical twins."

From a fraternity official in a Southern university comes a request for this column's opinion on the race problem in fraternities. His national charter restricts membership, but there is a strong move to abolish the restriction. Southern chapters as strongly oppose, and the twain can't meet. What gives?

There are areas in which a time has come for making concessions on the race question, as of necessity and/or as of right. But the undergraduate fraternal organization is not one, it seems to me.

A fraternity, like a church denomination, is from the nature of things selective, a reflection of the varying tastes, manners and emotions of men. The race issue is a living, personal one for Southerners. For outsiders, while granting that their feelings are strong, too, the issue is ideological and, to that extent, as casual as it is passionate in the South. Since a fraternity does not exist for the plying of ideologies but rather for the fellowship of individuals, it seems to me that the ideologists should give in. If they won't give in, if they insist on their "cause," then, with sadness for the folly and futility of bringing the issue in at all for a thing like this, a severance is in order. More individuals than could be made happy by abolition of the race rule would be made unhappy by it. To the abolitionist it is an abstraction, but to the others it is a condition of living.

People who think every racial move is communist inspired are silly, of course. The most extreme enemies of the South on the question were New England conservatives of deepest dye—the abolitionists. And that abolitionist spirit lives on in conservative descendants.

Certainly Communists are involved, too. They wouldn't overlook this biggest chance to make trouble for us at home. Especially the sort of trouble threatened in the luncheon-counter sit-down fracases.

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'Keep Government Poor'

From the New York Daily News

By former Representative Samuel B. Pettengill (D.-Ind.), in the publication Spotlight:

"Not one of the extensions of Socialism could be put into effect without money. Cut off the money supply—and the power to borrow—and you stop them in their tracks. As [Thomas] Jefferson said, 'We must make our selection between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude.'

"Harry Hopkins gave the formula for Socialism —tax, spend and elect. Yet, because they failed to grasp the grand strategy of freedom, various groups exhaust themselves on scattered tactical skirmishes —good in themselves, but largely futile in the face of this overpowering flood of money.

"[Associate Supreme Court] Justice [Oliver Wendell] Holmes used to say, 'We must strike for the jugular and let the rest go.' I would urge no one to abandon the fight for his own program or group, but the No. 1 plank in all platforms must be the exact reverse of the Hopkins formula—'Reduce taxes and spending, especially at the federal level. Keep government poor and remain free.' "

The Government Payroll

From the Nashville Banner

One out of every seven persons employed works for a governmental agency either at the Federal, state or local level.

It costs about $33 billion to support the payrolls covering the eight million government workers, 2.3 million of which are on Federal jobs and the remainder on state and local payrolls.

And the Tax Foundation estimates that by 1970 there will be 10 million persons on government payrolls.

It costs each family in the nation $610 to maintain this army of workers. And if the estimate for 1970 proves correct, it will cost nearly $800 per family. In 1950, it cost each family $340 to meet these payrolls.

The 1 out of 7 statistic is for civilian workers only. Big government requires big payrolls.

Purge By Hoffa Fails

From the Indianapolis Star

Last year, after the House approved the Landrum-Griffin Act, Teamster Boss James R. Hoffa announced plans to work for the defeat of 56 members who had voted for the law and who had previously been elected to Congress by a small margin. When the final votes were tallied, only one congressman on Hoffa's purge list was defeated. And he, New York Republican Representative Dorn, was more a victim of New York's swing to the Democrats than of any action on the part of Hoffa.

Adlai on Africa

Adlai Stevenson, upon accepting the UN Ambassadorship, said our greatest overseas problem will be to "identify ourselves with the emerging nations."

Translated into ordinary English, Stevenson was saying that the US must send $100 million (or more) a year to each of the 30 new African nations. We are not to neglect Latin American countries nor India or Burma, nor the Middle East. It is also Stevenson doctrine that this money must be sent through United Nations channels as a means of saving the pride of the new nations. They must not feel obligated to the United States.

Broken Promise No. 1

The naming of Dean Rusk as Secretary of State has caused several cynical Capitol Hill newsmen to start a "Broken Promises" list. Breaking the promise that Adlai would be the next Secretary of State is No. 1.

While Kennedy was seeking the nomination, he was often asked in his many press conferences whether he would appoint Stevenson as Secretary of State. He had a standardized answer. Here's the exact quote of one of them—from the New York *Times* of July 5: "In Oregon when I was there, I stated at the time that it was my judgment that whoever was elected President by the Democratic party would ask Governor Stevenson to serve as Secretary of State."

Kennedy had to give that assurance if he was to win the nomination. Stevenson fans—the most fanatical faction in the Democratic party—had to be made to believe that Adlai would be his Secretary of State. If they had turned against Kennedy, he would have won neither the nomination nor election. But the Stevenson bloc does not quickly forgive.

Behind the Iron Curtain

Hungarians remark wryly: "Our motorization consists of the diplomats' cars and the cars that follow the diplomats' cars."

Congo Question

The most pressing question in the Congo these days appears to be whether anyone has had Patrice Lumumba for dinner lately.

Then and Now

In grandpappy's day, there still were some problems that couldn't be solved by pouring out more of the taxpayers' money. —CINCINATTI ENQUIRER

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Professionals Flee East Germany

Shortage of Doctors, Ministers, Educators Becomes Acute

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

The largest Protestant church in Germany—the Evangelical Church of the Union—has looked at the whole sorry picture in Sovetized East Germany and recently made a stirring appeal to its parishioners. In an official pastoral letter, the East German branch of the church exhorted the population to remain in the Soviet zone despite the easy escape route into West Berlin.

The Protestant church leaders have no love for Commissar Ulbricht's brutal dictatorship and have fullest understanding, as they say in their pastoral letter, of the "pressing reasons for flight."

But if the present rate of defections to the West continues unabated the result may be an East German population bereft of its best elements, particularly those teachers and doctors dedicated to the ideals of freedom and religion.

The flight from Sovietized Germany has been going on steadily for the past 10 years to reach the present total of three million. And the exodus continues at the rate of some 22,000 every month. This year, alone, one thousand doctors and two thousand teachers have made their way to the West.

Entire East German towns are without resident doctors. Schools are increasingly serviced by technically incompetent but fanatically Communist instructors.

The Evangelical Church is afraid that with the genuinely freedom loving elements leaving, the result will be a leaderless people, completely malleable to the incessant Communist brainwashing.

The church's pastoral letter was couched in moving terms. Physicians were asked whether they are not setting out "against God, the Father of the miserable" if they leave their patients despite the alarming lack of doctors in East Germany.

Teachers were asked to think of the young people entrusted to their care, and were implored to continue to carry the burden of their profession for the sake of the children.

As for ministers and church officials, the pastoral letter was sharply direct: "You are guilty before God if you leave on your own accord or if you do not fulfill your service here."

The West German government agrees with the pastoral letter and is deeply concerned by the westward flight of those professional elements who constitute the natural leaders for a passive resistance against the Red regime. Bonn is also worried over the declining medical services for the East German population.

But withal, the West German government feels it is morally obliged to offer a haven to all escapees into West Berlin, and will continue its hospitality policy.

The actual effect of the pastoral letter cannot be measured as yet.

To escape, one must merely cross any of the many unbarricaded streets from East Berlin to West Berlin—or take a short subway ride from the slave sector of the divided city to the free sector.

One doctor who escaped recently told the Western authorities his story and his reason for leaving. His single experience summarizes the dilemma of all honest anti-Communist professionals in East Germany.

Engaged as a prison doctor in the small town of Loebau, he was ordered to examine an inmate who had been sentenced to a forced labor camp. The medical examination revealed that hard physical work would surely lead to the prisoner's death. A short two days after his medical report to this effect, the East German physician was summoned to the local district attorney's office. He was told to rewrite his report along more "optimistic" lines or face prosecution as an "enemy of the state."

The same night the doctor fled to West Berlin.

Taxing Free Speech

From the Chicago Tribune

You may perhaps recall that the Supreme Court has interpreted union picketing as an exercise of free speech, thus protected under the 1st amendment, inasmuch as it enables the strikers to bring their grievances to public attention through their presence on the line and by reason of inscriptions on the signs they may carry.

Now a trial examiner for the national labor relations board has contributed an embellishment. In his view free speech as manifested in a picket line need not be free; it can charge a price.

This peculiar rationalization was offered in a case involving 130 East Chicago bricklayers who contended they lost $100,000 in wages because they refused to contribute to the United Steelworkers' strike fund during last year's national steel strike.

The bricklayers were laid off by the Youngstown Sheet and Tube company when steelworkers struck in July. They were recalled in September to repair and rebuild equipment. Local 1011 of the USW demanded $2 daily of each bricklayer as a condition for issuing work passes "entitling" the bricklayers to cross the picket line. The bricklayers refused to pay the fee but also did not try to cross the picket line. Youngstown supervisory personnel did the repair work.

The NLRB trial examiner dismissed an unfair labor practices complaint, ruling that the Steelworkers union was within its rights in attempting to operate "an effective picket line."

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